DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 177 664 EA 011 940

TITLE	The New Women's Network. Annual Meeting (Atlanta, Georgia, February 15-16, 1978). "Wanted: More Women" Series.
INSTITUTION	National Council of Administrative Women in Education, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	78
NOTE	37p.
AVAILABLE FROM	National Council of Administrative Women in Education, 1815 Fort Myer Drive North, Arlington, VA 22209 ($4.00; 5% discount for 25 or more copies)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Administrative Personnel; Females; *Feminism; Males; Management; *Networks; *Sex Discrimination; *Sex Fairness; *Sex Role; *Sex Stereotypes; Speeches; *Working Women

ABSTRACT

The five speeches in this publication were presented in 1978 at the 63rd annual meeting of the National Council of Administrative Women in Education. Men and women whose speeches appear here touch on key issues involved in the struggle for sexual equality in management jobs. They focus on a new women's network that is gaining popularity as an effective tool to combat the systematic, traditional, male network that governs the professional arena. (Author/LD)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED177664

NCAWE

NEW WOMEN'S NETWORK

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Wanted: More Women

EA 011 940

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

J. Corner

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

2

CN001325

THE NEW WOMEN'S NETWORK

ANNUAL MEETING
FEBRUARY 15-16, 1978
Atlanta, Georgia

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ADMINISTRATIVE WOMEN IN EDUCATION

Additional copies are available from:
National Council of Administrative Women in Education
1815 Fort Mver Drive North
Arlington, Virginia 22209
Price: $4.00
Bulk rate available upon request
Orders must be accompanied by payment.

Copyright © 1978 by National Council of Administrative Women in Education
All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America
Design and Production: Jane Berman

Table of Contents

page

Foreword iv
Kathleen Crooks

Support the New Women's Network 1
Dr. Shirley McCune

Transition Into The Management Network 8
Dr. Anthony W. Romano

The Male School Administrator Network and the Protege System. . 11
Dr. John W. McLure

The Feminist Network 17
Dr. Leslie R. Wolfe

The "Old Boy Network" 24
Dr. Houston Conley

FOREWORD

Women's ongoing struggle for equality in society is not an individual battle. Females need other females to provide encouragement and support in gaining access to power in the male-dominated career world. The speeches which follow, presented at the 63rd annual meeting of the National Council of Administrative Women in Education, February 1978 at Atlanta, focus upon the "old boy game" and the "new women's network" which is gaining strength as an effective tool to combat the systematic, traditional, male network which governs the professional arena.

Men and women whose speeches appear in this publication have touched upon key issues involved in the struggle for sexual equality....

- The dynamics of the "old boy network" encourage and perpetuate the exclusion of women from its ranks.
- Women who have successfully broken into this network encounter subtle opposition in top-level management positions.
- Some women who have acquired middle and senior level professional positions have mistakenly divorced themselves from a struggling sisterhood.
- According to statistical surveys, women have not come nearly as far professionally as the media would lead us to believe.

The "new women's network," born of necessity, will continue to expand and proliferate as more women realize the value of mutual support, encouragement and collaboration as effective weapons in their struggle for sexual equity.

The speeches in this publication represent a collective effort to inform and convince women that the battle against sex discrimination cannot be won by favorable court rulings and legislation alone. In order to eradicate sexual inequality, it is apparent that women must join forces in an effort to sustain an effective communications and support network dedicated to giving women what they don't as yet have—equality.

Kathleen Crooks
Head Mistress
Manor School
St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands

Support the New Women's Network

Dr. Shirley McCune, Director, Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, was the recipient of the NCAWE Distinguished Service Award for 1977.

I am deeply honored to accept the NCAWE Distinguished Service Award for 1977. Although the award has been given to me, it recognizes the contribution of a small team of women and men who have worked during the past five years to develop and maintain the Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education. Each of the persons who has been involved in the activities of the Resource Center has been committed to the attainment of sex equity in education and to the demonstration of projects which can contribute to the achievement of sex equity. It has been a great pleasure for me to be a member of this team for the past five years and to work in the implementation of projects which can contribute to sex equity.

Most of us are very much aware that the achievement of sex equity in education and in society is a long term goal which will require continued struggle and effort if it is to be achieved. Periodically, it is important that we take time to assess what has been accomplished and to identify those areas where efforts need to be intensified. Each of us who is committed to working for the achievement of sex equity has to answer three questions:

- What progress has been achieved?
- What are the goals for our future efforts?
- What actions must I take to contribute to the achievement of sex equity?

Although each of us has to seek our individual answers to these questions, it is important that we share these answers to the questions as we seek to develop collaborative action. Today, I would like to share some of my thoughts with you and to suggest that greater attention needs to be given to the formulation of our collective answers to the questions.

What Progress Has Been Achieved?

During the past 16 years we have observed a rebirth of the American women's movement and a corresponding renewal of the movement to achieve sex equity in education. Although American feminism has always recognized the importance of equal access to educational op-

portunity as a necessary condition for the attainment of equality, it has only been within the past ten years that we have seen the emergence of specific efforts to incorporate sex equity in the policies, practices, and programs of education institutions and agencies. The attainment of sex equity in education is not only a desirable social goal; it has become a necessary component of educational practices and of quality education services.

The movement for achieving sex equity in education has been delineated but what has been accomplished? Some of the accomplishments of the past ten years include:

- *Increased public and professional awareness and understanding of the issues of sex discrimination, sex stereotyping, and sex bias.*

Perhaps the most significant accomplishment of the past ten years has been an increased public and professional awareness and understanding of the problems of sex discrimination, sex stereotyping, and sex bias as it is manifest in education institutions and agencies. We have witnessed a gradual build-up of a knowledge base which has provided us with the terminology for understanding sex inequity, the formulation of criteria for determining inequity, and the beginning development of models for achieving sex equity.

The major stimulus for the increased awareness and understanding of sex equity in education was the passage of Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments, and the years of effort which have gone into the development of the regulation, the dissemination of information about the regulation, and the ongoing efforts to enforce the regulation. Similarly the passage of the sex equity provisions contained in Title II of the 1976 Education Amendments has provided a vehicle for increasing the awareness of vocational educators and for stimulating efforts to overcome sex discrimination, sex bias, and sex stereotyping.

Although the promise of Title IX and Title II has not been realized in the achievement of full compliance with the provisions of this legislation, they have served as an important means of increasing educators' general awareness of the existence of sex discrimination and sex stereotyping and the steps which must be taken to correct such discrimination and stereotyping. It is important that we continue to utilize legal requirements as a means of continued public and professional awareness of the need for sex equity.

- *The development of legal and administrative procedures for addressing problems of sex discrimination*

Although Title IX and Title II have provided a vehicle for further public and professional awareness and understanding of sex equity, they have also provided tools for addressing problems of inequity. Ti-

tle IX, as the Federal nondiscrimination law which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in education programs receiving Federal funds, has been the primary standard for the determination of sex discrimination. The requirements for the development of a local grievance procedure for handling complaints of noncompliance with the regulation, and the Federal procedure for handling complaints of discrimination have given us new tools for action. These tools have not been adequately developed or used but we have a basic structure for correcting sex discrimination.

The sex equity portions of Title II of the Education Amendments of 1976 also provide tools for achieving sex equity in vocational education. In this instance the tools are the administrative requirements for the implementation of vocational education programs which mandate efforts to overcome sex discrimination, sex bias, and sex stereotyping. One of the tasks for all educators is to understand the intent of these legal and administrative procedures and to learn to use the tools effectively for the achievement of sex equity.

- *Women's increased access to education programs*

During the past few years it has been possible to identify gains in women's access to education programs. While equity has not been achieved we have seen gains, particularly in the areas of women's athletics programs, admission to professional schools, and access to vocational education programs. Important as these gains may be, it is important to remember that they are only the first steps for meeting the need for women's increased access to education programs.

Many of the gains in women's increased access to education programs are found in the development of institutional policies. Institutional policies may or may not result in education practices which are necessary for their realization. One of the continuing tasks for advocates of educational equity is to monitor the implementation of these policies and to take the steps which are necessary for their incorporation into education practices and programs.

- *Women's increasing awareness of power and capability to act*

Power may be defined as the capacity to act. Women have become increasingly sophisticated in their awareness and use of power. Women are seeking to understand the nature of power, to take the necessary risks to use power, and to build alternative methods of working with others to increase their access to power. Women have not achieved equality in their ability to influence institutions and to obtain resources, but their access to and use of power continues to be extended.

One of the traditional barriers to the advancement of women and their increased access to power has been the limited number of support systems which are available to assist women's growth and career development. During the past few years we have begun to understand the need for such support systems and have moved to establish or use such systems. These support systems are seen in the increased utilization of traditional organizations such as NCAWE toward the development of new information networks and informal coalitions. We can see the beginnings of the "New Women's Network" within education. It is an essential element of women's educational equity which must be nurtured and extended.

Despite these signs of progress it is possible to identify many components which are essential if educational equity is to be achieved. Some of the missing components are:

- *The lack of articulated long range goals for achieving women's equity in education*

The development of the women's educational equity movement has in large measure been a natural extension of the larger women's movement in our society. We have tended to identify with the issues of the women's movement and have moved to apply general principles of equity within education. Thus, the women's educational equity movement has tended to be a reactive effort to other changes in our society. Many of our efforts have been fragmented and localized. We have not yet been able to develop a consistent action effort. At this stage it is essential that we define the long range goals for women's educational equity and begin to develop that sense of direction and consensus which can enhance our individual and collective efforts.

- *The limited number of models and programs for change*

During the past four years the Women's Educational Equity Act has supported the development of models and programs which could assist the attainment of sex equity in education. Some of the products developed under funds from this program are now available to education practitioners. Valuable as this program is to educational equity efforts, it cannot support the development which is needed and essential if change is to be institutionalized into education policies, practices, and programs. All educators must assume responsibility for the continuing development, modification, and extension of models and programs which can lead to institutionalized change within education agencies and institutions. Our task as women educators is to develop and demonstrate models and programs for change and serve as advocates for their continued development and expansion.

- *The lack of a major coalition with the education community*

The education community has typically been a collection of diverse groups of educators who have seldom been able to transcend the barriers of differing roles, subject areas, or levels of education to build strong movements of collective action. Some of this diversity is also reflected in the women's educational equity movement. As educators, we tend to organize around our varying professional interests and seek limited action goals. These efforts are important and should be encouraged, but it is equally important that we move toward coalitions which can unite these efforts and provide consistent support and reinforcement for the total educational equity movement. We need to extend ourselves beyond the women's education equity goals of our immediate professional interests and seek to develop coalitions which can support the range of change efforts which are necessary to achieve educational equity.

These missing components have limited our progress in the past and will continue to limit our future progress unless each of us commits our efforts to seeing that the missing components are developed.

Goals for Women's Educational Equity

The beginning point for our development of actions which can further the progress of women's educational equity efforts is to articulate the goals for educational equity which can provide a sense of direction for our efforts. The success of our efforts to achieve educational equity will be determined, in large measure, by the degree to which we are able to restructure and reform the education agencies and institutions of our society. This reform and restructuring must be guided by goals which can provide a sense of direction for our action.

Some of the reform goals of the women's educational equity movement include:

- *The reform of education delivery systems so that all students will be provided with*
  - —a positive image of self and their potential contribution to the society
  - —the basic skills of reading, mathematics, and writing which will prepare them for participation in the society
  - —incremental career planning and preparation skills which can prepare them for meaningful work and contribution to the society
  - —an understanding of the changes in the world around them and the skills needed for dealing with these changes

- *The restructuring of education institutions and agencies in ways*
  - —which are designed and operated by competent persons of both sexes and all racial-ethnic groups
  - —which demonstrate a commitment to diversity and the educational excellence which can result from the utilization of such diversity
  - —which provide environments which are growth producing for students and for employees
- *The reform of professional organizations in order that leadership can be provided which*
  - —recognizes and responds to the general need for educational equity including sex equity
  - —demonstrates through the selection of leaders and program activities a commitment to educational equity
  - —serves as an advocate for change and provides leadership for social, political, and educational change

Attainment of these goals requires more than exerting pressures on key points in the education community. It requires a consistent effort to increase the capability of all educational practitioners to reach for and attain excellence in all their activities.

What actions can be taken to contribute to the achievement of sex equity in education?

It has been said that social movements will succeed when three elements are present—a vision of the goals to be achieved, the empowerment of people to act in ways which can achieve the necessary changes, and the maintenance of hope and support among those who believe in the goals. If these elements are to be provided, it will require our best efforts and our reaching out to support the best efforts of others.

Each of us has to work to

- *Continue to refine and articulate the vision of sex equity in education*

General goals are only attained as we are able to refine the goals and move from the general understandings of sex equity to demonstrations of sex equity in education programs, policies, and practices at all education levels.

- *Continue to empower ourselves and others for increasing capability to bring about the changes which are necessary for achieving sex equity*

If change is to be actualized, it is essential that we

- —commit ourselves to continued growth and responsibility which is necessary for any form of social change
- —extend our skills of accepting and affirming our strengths and the strengths of our accomplishments and aspirations, and the accomplishments and aspirations of others
- —extend our skills of accepting our weaknesses and the weaknesses of others, and extending the skills of "shoring up" those weaknesses to meet the challenges of the tasks which are necessary to achieve sex equity
- —taking all steps possible to obtain the human and financial resources needed for training and education which can empower women and men to achieve sex equity

• *Continue to build informal and formal networks which can provide the communications, hope, and support which is necessary for maintaining our individual and collective efforts.*

Vision, empowerment, and hope—these are components for change. If these are to be supplied, each of us must move ahead with a commitment that we will provide these components for ourselves, our colleagues, and the education agencies and institutions which we serve.

Transition Into The Management Network

Anthony W. Romano
Assistant Professor, Nickols State University

There are several barriers that inhibit women from moving into top management positions. One major barrier is a lack of female role models. Even those who teach the management skills at universities are predominantly male. Patterning behavior after the available role models leads many women to believe that to be an effective manager they must think and behave in a masculine way. This behavior is not being true to oneself. It is important for a woman who aspires to a top-level management position to feel comfortable and natural—that is, feminine—whether she is dealing with men or women. The successful feminine woman is one who likes herself no matter whom she is with, and who has the confidence to assert herself in a straightforward, honest way.

Setting Goals

Women need to know how they are perceived by those who evaluate them. The evaluator must be made aware of what skills they possess. This doesn't mean they should be brash and arrogant, but they should let their boss know what they want to accomplish and where they want to go—in other words, they must clearly establish career goals for themselves. Merely believing "If I work hard, it will be noticed and I will be promoted" is naive. It usually means they will only get more work to do, not necessarily the raise or the promotion such hard work merits.

The "Queen Bee" Mistake

Women need support from each other in seeking and holding top-level management positions. When women attain management positions they sometimes foolishly become "Queen Bees." These women feel it will hurt them to employ other women and they refuse to do so. This only helps reinforce the idea that qualified women cannot be found. Women must learn never to sell each other out. They must not let personalities interfere with their job performance.

Risk-Taking and Positive Thinking

Because of self-doubt, self-deprecation, and built-in bias, many women see themselves as unable to perform effectively or to be happy in decision-making and leadership roles. As long as women feel incapable of doing the job or think they won't be happy doing it, it is doubtful they will seek or keep management positions.

Frequently when women fail, or when it is perceived they have failed, other women withdraw their support so as not to feel tainted by such failure. But equal participation in top-level management involves risk-taking and includes the right to fail. Many women spend every ounce of energy they have holding on to a management position.

As women become more positive in their attitudes toward their own abilities and those of other women, they will be more willing to develop their potential so they may assume responsibility for exercising leadership and judgement. Women must learn not to be negative or angry but must understand the dynamics of the socialization process of men and the potential threatening posture perceived by men of women who do resocialize their concept of self and evidence independence and competitiveness.

Assessing One's Assets

Eleanor Roosevelt once said that a sign of maturity is to be able to assess your skills and identify weaknesses.

If you have been out of the job market for as little as five years, you may need to update your skills. Rapid technical progress and expansion of knowledge requires almost constant renewal of any skills. Women should closely examine programs at universities and colleges, seek financial support from foundations and government agencies, and apply for internships.

Women frequently underestimate their experiences and therefore do not appear to be as well prepared as men for management positions. But much volunteer work carries tremendous management responsibilities and should be included in a resumé. You should not be satisfied with positions below your academic preparation and your true level of responsibility.

On the other hand, realize and accept your limitations. Be prepared for disappointments—they are not unique to women. Expect that you will be watched and analyzed. Admit your mistakes and learn from them, remembering that only those who do nothing and take no risks can avoid making mistakes.

A Professional Network

Seek out women who hold positions like those you are interested in; obtain as much information about the position and how they obtained it as possible.

Form a strong "old girl network" and help each other identify available positions for which you may be qualified. Then encourage and support each other when you get the position; join professional groups like NCAWE so you will not be isolated from other professional women in your field when you reach that lonely top.

The most important point is not to view any position as "male" or "female"—only as a professional job to be done in a professional manner.

Margaret Heckler, Congresswoman from Massachusetts, has said: "We don't want women to be the same as men, merely equal as human beings."

The Male School Administrator Network and the Protege System

John W. McLure
Associate Professor, University of Iowa

This paper begins with a concern over the small percentage of women school administrators in the United States. The thoughts expressed here also have some application to the concerns of minority school administrators. The particular focus is upon the predominantly white school administrator communications net and its sponsorship system. This net is sometimes referred to as the "old boy network."

This paper is built from three sources: 1) a review of literature, 2) personal observations of the writer, and 3) a pilot sample of ten interviews and ten questionnaires of which 8 of the latter were returned. The pilot sample was conducted in eastern Iowa last January. All members of the sample were women administrators; two were in parochial schools; the rest were public. Ten were elementary principals; the remainder were in secondary or central office locations. Four medium-sized and four small districts were represented. Two of the pilot sample administrators were women minority members. Again, the total in the pilot sample was 18.

In these remarks, I hope to provide partial answers to a few questions: 1) What is the old boy network? 2) Why is there a concern among women and minority members over the old boy network? 3) What are some of its characteristics? 4) How does it work? I will refer to it as the OBN.

First, what is the OBN? I view it as a predominantly male communications net between school administrators, which passes professional and personal information often but not exclusively having to do with job advancement and placement. A number of writers have commented upon the existence of this network in education. It has been found in industry, medicine, and other fields as well.[1] Of the 18 women in my pilot sample, 17 agreed that the OBN does exist and one said no. Of the ten I interviewed, two hesitated before they answered

yes, apparently because they feel so much a part of the OBN that it is difficult for them to stand back and view it as a spectator.

If the OBN were viewed simply as a matter of communications, with no effect upon career success and failure, then presumably few people should be concerned about its existence. But its sponsorship or protege aspect often excludes women and minority members, according to Valverde, and he recommended that it be dismantled.[2]

Sandra Moore studied the opportunities for women in educational administration in three "typical" New Jersey counties. She concluded,

> "One of the most common ways for males to hear about a post was reported to be by word of mouth. Since very few women reported hearing of positions in this manner, there may be a need for a network of communication among women about job openings."[3]

Let us turn to the shape of the OBN. I want to devote most of the remainder of this paper to its anatomy and workings. First, we must pose the question, "Is there *one* old boy network in school administration?" I think it can be shown that there are many OBN's in educational administration, and their shapes and influence change with time.

I would like to describe four examples of old boy nets. The first is now rather passé; the second is greatly altered but still influential; the third is probably more important than ever; and the fourth is an emergent group.

The first OBN that I will mention was found in the state of Illinois in the post-civil war years. The state superintendent of public instruction, some of the county school superintendents (usually in the central to northern counties), a few college presidents, and a handful of city school superintendents maintained a rather close network. They corresponded about a variety of educational matters including the sponsorship of promising individuals.[4] A century later we are witnessing the virtual demise of the office of the county school superintendent in some midwestern states. The state superintendents have shifted their contacts considerably, partly as a result.

The second network involves professors of educational administration and their proteges. Robert Rose has provided an interesting view of this system. He wrote,

> "These friendships and acquaintances form the core of a communication network the sponsors use to obtain and distribute information concerning professional matters, usually related to placement opportunities within the profession."[5]

Rose's interviews revealed a network composed of scattered professors with local influence and a few others with a national setting for their sponsorees. Names like Mort, Strayer, and Cubberly emerged. Those names also reflected the early classic period of Teacher's College, Columbia University and Stanford. Today the environment of educational administrational preparation has changed with the emergence of many good departments of educational administration.

Nevertheless, Rose's description should not be passed over lightly. He sketched men who exerted an influence "like a father" over their "boys." The relationship between sponsor and sponsoree was usually established early in the latter's career, and it persisted for many years. Besides outright job-seeking, the sponsoree received help through ". . . career counseling, professional advice and assistance, and psychological support . . . ." This relationship was maintained through "infrequent phone calls, occasional written correspondence, and brief face-to-face meetings and professional meetings. . . ." Even the innocent Christmas card served to send alarm signals, e.g., "I am not happy here."[6]

We are now two generations removed from the sponsors in Rose's classic era. One hopes that there have been changes. Perhaps we who are now the "old boys" no longer select only sponsorees who serve as surrogates for our sons.

Yet, we find the recent charge of sexism levelled at the academic sponsorship system in general. Bernice Sandler wrote, in her criticism of a report by Richard Lester, that the OBN was ". . . rife with discrimination. Merit is simply not enough. The 'old boys' seek out young proteges who are then taught the informal ropes of the profession. The 'old boys' introduce them to other scholars; they nominate their proteges for the best scholarships, and they seek jobs for them as well. It is difficult for women and minorities to be proteges. Men are often uncomfortable having lunch with a female student, spending long hours in the lab with them, or inviting minority students into their homes. Thus women and minorities are often excluded from the protege system . . . ."[7]

With Sandler's comment we have reached a close-up view. This is an appropriate time to turn to a third net, the local scene with school administrators—principals, central office personnel, and an occasional counselor and powerful department head. By and large, the actors in this net are locals, but a visiting administrator or a passing book company representative or ring salesman will contribute news of a position in a nearby district before the vacancy notice is announced. These itinerant peddlars sense the falling star.

The school administrators meet informally at lunch, at happy hours, and at play (golf, handball, tennis, and cards were mentioned in the pilot sample). Two respondents said that in their districts very little of the informal socializing took place. Most of the respondents indicated that the informal administrative meetings did occur, and that some of the meetings were open to them (the women) for participation. But only one woman indicated that she participated in the sports get-togethers, and that was partly due to her husband, another administrator in the same system. Some women chose not to participate in the informal events.

Sports talk appears to be a common topic in the school administrator OBN, according to eleven of the respondents. How did the women deal with this conversation? Six joined in avidly, a smaller number felt very uncomfortable around the sports talk, one wanted to join in but felt that her views were discounted, and one said she established a rule on trips: the men could talk about sports for half the trip only!

Seven of the women interviewed noted the occurrence of sexist joke-telling in the administrator net, but most of those who answered the questionnaire did not see this characteristic in their district.

Their reactions to the sexist jokes and innuendos varied. Several ignored the remarks; a few treated the situation as a game and laughed off the gibes, several didn't know, and two recognized that the stories stopped just as they joined the group.

The presence of sports conversation and sexist jokes in the school administrator OBN should not be overemphasized. One respondent reported that the chief administrator in her setting would be embarrassed to hear a sexist joke; and that they are not told in his presence. Two other women noted that sexist jokes have no place among educators, and certainly many men will agree. It is important for women administrators to remember that a significant number of men administrators do not enjoy either of these forms of conversation, sports or sexist jokes. But if a woman works in a local OBN that does commonly use these topics, she may come to view herself as an oddity if she does not participate, especially if she is a token woman. The reader is referred to the excellent article by Judith Long Laws, "The Psychology of Tokenism: An Analysis" for further insights.[8]

Not all old boy networks contain an informal dimension with the recreational activities that exclude women. Two respondents from two different districts commented that the male administrators in their districts socialize off-hours with persons other than educators.

Perhaps the overreliance upon sports and sexist jokes in some OBN's is a dysfunctional sign. One respondent commented that in her

district men administrators seemed to grasp at the sports topic because they were ill-at-ease in general and appeared to have difficulty sustaining a meaningful conversation on any topic with other men. This observation merits further study in part because we tend to be influenced by the heavy, deterministic, male-bonding metaphor of Lionel Tiger's *Men in Groups*. I think the effect of Tiger's metaphor is to imagine that women sit outside the fraternity's inner circle. Further, women may wonder if they are defective because they are not invited to join the elite male councils.[9]

One wonders if there may be other interactions of the OBN which tend to keep women administrators at a distance. For example, this writer has occasionally heard women administrators complain that their point of view is sought too often when a measure requires the "Official Women's Opinion". Yet these same women have experienced discounting of their opinions on other subjects. Of the respondents in the pilot sample, only three reported that they had experienced discounting of their views at meetings. One respondent who said that she had not experienced discounting suggested that it may occur by administrators who discount regardless of the gender of the speaker.

Thus far I have described three kinds of old boy networks and speculated upon the physiology of those in the school systems. It seems likely that there are still others. Rose suggested that boards of education may be creating their own, emergent network, and that a few consultants play a broker's role similar to the position of Mort, Strayer, and Cubberly in the professor's classic period. Some evidence does not support Rose's prediction at least in the smaller districts.[10]

This writer has heard Fred Raubinger, former State Commissioner of Education, New Jersey, inveigh more than once against still another OBN, the U.S. Office of Education-private foundation-industry connection.

In conclusion, one may say that many, and possibly most, women administrators believe that an old boy network of men school administrators exists. The shape and interactions of the network probably vary depending upon the purposes of the organization (state, university, local district, etc.). A sizeable number of women feel left out of the workings of the OBN. Yet sponsorship into school administration is a two-way street. It is partly the obligation of the sponsoree to study the network, make use of it, and become a part of some collegial communications system. She cannot prosper for long in professional solitude. Dorothy Truex has suggested that we should re-read the words of Esther (4:14-16), "And so I will go unto the king, which is not according to the law; and if I perish, I perish."[11]

Footnotes

1. See: Oswald Hall, "The Informal Organization of the Medical Profession", *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, V. 12, N. 1, F. 1946, 30-44, and Fred E. Katz, "Occupational Contact Networks", *Social Forces*, V. 37, N. , O. 1958, 52-55.
2. Leonard A. Valverde, *Succession Socialization: Its Influence on School Administtative Candidates and Its Implication to the Exclusion of Minorities from Administration*, Final Report, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C., 1974.
3. Sandra Elizabeth Moore, Opportunities for Women in the Field of Public School Administration in the New Jersey Counties of Cumberland, Hunterdon, and Passaic, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1977 (*Dissertation Abstracts*, V. 37, 7451-A).
4. Letter Books of the Illinois State Superintendents of Public Instruction, Illinois Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois.
5. Robert L. Rose, *Career Sponsorship in the School Superintendency, a Project Report*, Eugene, Oregon: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, June, 1969, ED 033438, 26.
6. *Ibid.*, 68, and Katz, op.cit.
7. Bernice Sandler, "Backlash in Academe: A Critique of the Lester Report", *Teachers College Record*, V. 76, N. 3, F. 1975, 409.
8. Judith Long Laws, "The Psychology of Tokenism: An Analysis," *Sex Role, A Journal of Research*, V. 1, N. 1, March, 1975, 51-67.
9. It is suggested that the reader accompany a reading of Tiger's *Man in Groups* with a companion study of Elaine Morgan's *The Descent of Woman.*
10. Van Torrence Sweet, Selection Procedures in the Employment of Superintendents in Small School Districts in California, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1976 (*Dissertation Abstracts*, V. 37, 1977, 1347-A).
11. Dorothy Truex, "Education of Women, the Student Personnel Profession, and the New Feminism," Journal of the *National Association of Women Deans and Counselors*, V. 35, N. 1, Fall, 1971, 13-20.

THE FEMINIST NETWORK

Leslie R. Wolfe
Special Assistant to the
Assistant Secretary for Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare

NOTE: Much of the data and information on research studies are derived from "No Room at the Top?", American Education, June 1977. The analysis of the Queen Bee owes a great deal to Graham Staines, Carol Tavris, and Toby Epstein Jayaratne, "The Queen Bee Syndrome," Psychology Today, January, 1974, pp., 55-60.

I am delighted to be with you today to discuss the New Women's Network, a feminist network which continues to grow both in strength and numbers. I am feeling unusually optimistic about our future, particularly when I take the long, historical view and remember that there was a time, not long ago, when women were prohibited from attending public schools. In fact, the first woman to be admitted was required to sit in the closet—to avoid distracting the male scholars.

Now, education has opened its doors and at every level professes—and largely believes in—the goal of equal opportunity and increased access for previously excluded groups. However—to be realistic—it is clear that in many subtle—and not so subtle ways—the curricula, structures, employment practices, and policies of our schools actually perpetuate the status quo and reinforce existing stratifications of access and benefits according to race, ethnicity, economic class, and sex.

When we attempt to overcome the effects of such sexist and racist attitudes and behavior, through affirmative action programs, for instance, we hear a variety of myths about their real purpose and impact. In fact, over the past several years, affirmative action requirements have consistently been misunderstood, misapplied—and sabotaged.

Despite the facts about hiring and promotion practices, for example, we are told that white men are truly the victims of so-called "reverse discrimination" and that places in graduate school and jobs at every level in education are being handed out carelessly to women and minority men. Perhaps the most destructive notion, the one which underlies the concept of reverse discrimination, is that affirmative ac-

tion must inevitably result in the hiring of "unqualified" minority men and women of all races—instead of "qualified" white men. Thus, we are told, our high standards of excellence will be destroyed. This is a most sinister notion—implying as it does that academic excellence and job qualifications are somehow causally connected to a particular race and sex.

I should point out here that only 9% of the teachers in the country are black, 1.2% are Hispanic, and less than 1% are either Asian American (.5%) or Native American (.2%). Only 4% of school principals and less than 1% of school superintendents are minorities. Hardly a takeover of the education system.

In educational administration, women of all racial/ethnic groups are losing ground. In 1928, 55% of elementary school principals were women; now we represent only 18% of elementary school principals. We are still 85% of elementary teachers, however. Women are now only 3% of secondary school principals, and 50% of secondary teachers.

And female school superintendents are, in Shirley McCune's words—"an endangered species." Only 1/2 of 1% are women, and we are only 3% of assistant superintendents. Our large and medium sized school districts (those with 3,000 or more students) employ 80% of all superintendents; 99.4% of those are men. But this year, women hold 26% of lower level administrative positions—will they be superintendents next year? Will you?

And where are our women at the very top? We can count the number of female Chief State School Officers on one hand—only 5 of 51 are women, while in 1950 there were 6 women Chiefs. None of the Chiefs are minority women—and only 3 of the Chiefs are black—all men.

In higher education, women aren't in charge either, except in token numbers. Of 2500 institutions of higher education surveyed by the ACE in 1975, a mere 148 had women as chief executive officers—and 75% of these were church-related; in other words, women generally were presidents of small women's colleges.

The Federal education establishment reflects the same pattern, except at the very top. The Assistant Secretary for Education, the Director of the National Institute of Education, the Administrator of the National Center for Education Statistics and the Director of the new Institute for Museum Services are all women. But in middle and senior management positions in the Education Division, our record is abysmal. In the Office of Education, the largest Education Division agency, of 44 top managers (the "super grades") 41 are men—only 3

are women. And the average male employee is a senior level supervisor, while the average female employee is a secretary or entry level professional. It is true that some of us rise close to the top, but statistically speaking—we are freaks. Even though education is traditionally and stereotypically viewed as "woman's work"—it appears that running the show is man's work! And what about our salaries? We feel terrific when we are promoted into administrative positions—but it hurts when we discover that male administrators earn an average of $5000 per year MORE than their female counterparts.

We often hear that this is inevitable, that women are underrepresented at the top because we are underqualified, that we need more training, more education, more assistance in learning how to be assertive, how to develop leadership skills. But available evidence disputes this notion.

In fact, several studies reach opposite conclusions. The results of an analysis, by sex, of vocational aptitudes of clients tested at the Human Engineering Laboratory of the Johnson O'Connor Research Foundation since 1922, are instructive. Of 22 different areas of aptitude and knowledge, men and women were equally talented in 14; men excelled in only 2, while women excelled in 6. Of the three aptitudes which seem to underlie successful management (objective personality, high English vocabulary, and abstract visualization), men and women were equal on two—but women excelled in the third. The study concluded, therefore, that more women than men should hold management positions.

But, as we know, this never happens. A study conducted at Purdue University provides an explanation and reveals the extent of sex bias. Whether conscious or not, the impact which such ingrained bias can have on decisions regarding women employees is devastating. One hundred thirty college students at Purdue rated identical pre-recorded performances of men and women who answered a list of 25 questions. Although both men and women answered the same 16 questions correctly, *men received higher performance ratings.* Students also judged the answers as revealing *skill for the men* and a combination of *skill and luck for the women.* Finally, men were rated superior in intelligence, based on their responses—but *women were not.*

The implications are staggering. If a man and a woman perform identical jobs—assistant superintendent, for instance—identically well, will they be judged to be equally competent and equally qualified for higher positions?

Thus, even though women do have the credentials for administrative positions—50% of the MAs in education are awarded to

women, for example—we suspect that other factors keep us from obtaining such positions.

A recent article in *American Education* ("No Room at the Top?", June 1977) reported the findings of research studies which "suggest that criteria other than task competence and qualifications are employed in the selection of educational administrators." One study evaluated the informal ingredients of a superintendent's background—and found that in almost eight out of 10 cases, the successful candidate had coached a sport. A second study found that men who had been in the military were preferred as school administrators.

Yet another study investigated the selection procedures for elementary and secondary school administrators, and found that the ONLY factor which appeared to correlate significantly to hiring was sex—no valid correlations were found between age, type of position, length of experience, background, or size of school district and the hiring process.

Two researchers, Gross & Trask, suggest several possible explanations for the decrease in the number of women elementary school principals during the past 25 years. First on their list is outright sex discrimination in the promotion practices of school districts.

In addition, they found that other inherently sexist practices—including blatant male preference policies—excluded women from jobs they formerly had held. Gross and Trask also noted that universities which train educational administrators show little concern for the sex imbalance among principals; in fact, financial aid and recruitment practices of these institutions frequently favor men.

Finally, the study cited the marked drop in the proportion of women teachers aspiring to school principalships as a reason for the decrease in women principals. Needless to say, the other factors—sex discrimination, sexist attitudes and policies, deliberate discouragement rather than peer support—certainly affect a woman's motivation to aspire to educational administration.

Such evidence clearly supports our perceived need for the many and diverse women's networks—including this Council—to vigorously struggle against both blatant and subtle forms of sexism. All of our networks share certain characteristics and purposes designed to achieve this and to achieve our ultimate goal—POWER. We must have the power to change the sexist and racist attitudes and practices which limit us and our children to help ourselves and all women to achieve to the full limits of our desires and potentials—without being restricted by race and sex stereotypes and biases. Power is also what distinguishes the new women's network from the "old boy" network—they've got it and we don't.

In addition, our goals differentiate us from the "old boy" network. As feminists and members of the new women's network, we choose political, collective goals—ending sex and race discrimination and ensuring equal access to education and work, and freedom to control our lives. Although we are certainly ambitious for ourselves, our ambitions are part of our larger struggle for equality and freedom. If we become Chief State School Officer, for instance, or "make it" in general, we feel that this is a victory to be shared with other women—we support each other in achieving these personal goals.

This brings me to a First Principle for our Networks: we must always be conscious of the fact that there is no such thing as personal "liberation" in a society which discriminates against entire groups of people on the basis of immutable caste factors—such as race and sex. While it is certainly possible for some women and minority men to FEEL liberated, and to achieve a measure of success, wealth, and even a little power, that individual success occurs too infrequently. It does little to eliminate the specter of sexism and racism and does not alter patriarchal power relations.

Therefore, we must caution ourselves against falling into the trap of believing that we are not affected by sex and race discrimination, that we have personally overcome it. We must not see ourselves as Queen Bees—who have achieved some personal, professional success in a system which normally discriminates against women and minorities—and therefore believe they have "made it" in the man's world.

Instead of being supportive of her sisters in struggle, the Queen Bee gives them the old "bootstraps" argument: "If I can do it without a whole movement to help me, so can all those other women—or else they just aren't good enough (i.e., as good as I am)." This ignores the reality of discrimination.

This sense of herself as different from "them"—other women—is the equivalent of self-hate—identification with the master and denigration of one's "own kind"—women. Because she is the successful member of a group that is normally excluded, the Queen Bee enjoys a privileged position that is unavailable to most of her peers—she finds that it can be fun to be the rare, one in a million woman at the top, and she therefore relishes the fact that she is special, with unique qualifications possessed by no other women.

Because the Queen Bee has succeeded as an individual, she rejects collective action, the notion of women organizing in groups, networks, to change the system. She would not be a member of this Council because she would believe that she does not need other women. In contrast, the Feminist Network affirms the power of collaboration, the

strength which comes from our ability to achieve unity in our diversity—to forge ahead with a single purpose and ideal.

The basis of our networking is in our need to share, support, and assist ourselves and our sisters to gain access to power, not only for our personal satisfaction, but also as agents of change. The feminist network enables us to end our isolation, to find allies, peers, and mentors among women throughout the country.

One of the major activities of feminist networks is mentoring. We must all serve as mentors for each other and particularly for younger women who are just starting out. We must encourage their ambitions and aspirations and share with them the benefits of our experience, our contacts, our access to information, our survival skills—everything. We must be prepared to be role models for dozens of younger women. As part of our responsibility as mentors, we must be ready to nominate women for every job we hear about. This is yet another of the functions of our networks—to find and support women for administrative jobs, to encourage our male colleagues and bosses to recruit and hire women, and to help these employers to overcome traditional notions which say that leadership and power are inappropriate for women.

The feminist network thus must perform the functions of the "old boy" network regarding access to job information, career advice, and support—because we know that the informal "old buddy" network, through which men provide information to colleagues and mentorship to younger men on the way up, is closed to women, with a few token exceptions.

In addition to being mentors for younger women, women in the feminist network must provide peer support to each other. We all need the emotional and professional support of other women in similar situations. The lonely, isolated few women near the top need such support most desperately; as Theodora Wells said, "It is very tiring to be a role model all the time." And so, we must be the caring support group for such women and for ourselves.

Women who aspire to administrative posts, one study revealed, often find the environment "null" at best and, all too frequently, openly hostile to their ambitions. The women's network therefore must provide aspiring women with a positive environment. In short, the feminist network serves as a support system for us; we serve as role models for younger women and find our role models from among our sisters. We hold as a chief value our responsibility to be accessible to other women both as peers and mentors.

Finally, the feminist network must provide support for the brave souls among us who file discrimination complaints, put their jobs on

the line—and often lose them—because of their strong and determined fight against sex and race discrimination. At all costs, we must not succumb to the D&C tactics—divide and conquer—which pit us against our sisters and other excluded groups for tiny rewards.

The feminist network must be in the vanguard of the struggle against sexism and racism. We could take as our motto the words of Shirley Chisholm—"The law cannot do the major part of the job of winning equality for women. Women must do it for themselves. We must become revolutionaries."

THE "OLD BOY NETWORK"

Dr. Houston Conley
Professor of Education
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
and State University
Blacksburg, VA

Inequality between the sexes is currently the source of many heated debates and has been drowned in a mass of documentation. By the majority agreement, leadership in the world of work has been an exclusively male calling, and women have not been equally invited, tolerated, or even seriously considered.

Why is it that women have been only reluctantly admitted into the higher ranks of the work world? Have the performances of those few women who have tried to climb the organizational ladder been poor? Is the threat of their dropping out for childbearing and childrearing the major deterrent to placing young women in a top level work position? How can they break into the "Old Boy Game"?

The systematic network of male relationships is informally organized to act in a "favor giving" manner, and gives high-level rewarding jobs to those individuals (usually white males) who have established friendships through social or job-related contacts. The system can operate within a particular field of employment or across diversified employment areas. An excellent example is the governmental system. No matter what employment area is involved, the ultimate result is, in most cases, the exclusion of women and other minorities from the mainstream of administrative appointments or hiring. One might ask if there is some underlying reason for the exclusion of females and other minorities from this network, thus excluding them from any opportunity at the high level administrative positions? Let's pursue this point further.

In assessing the value of women's contribution to the work world, two points often confuse the issue. One, a women may handle a par-

*Researchers: Rosalyn Ewing and John P. Russell, Jr., graduate assistants at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA.

ticular job differently from the way a man would, and since a male judgement is the one that prevails, she may be thought ineffective when she is merely different. Different people do jobs differently but when a woman is involved, others may perceive her sex role rather than her individuality as the cause for the different approaches. Secondly, it is sometimes hard for men to admire in women the very qualities they find important in successful men. Although failure to gain the admiration of one's superior may not be the only deterrent to promotion, it is surely a powerful one, and a valuable instrument in playing the "Old Boy Game."

In a deeper context, there exists the basic question of how willing men are to have their male world invaded by women. This situation is analagous to housewives protesting having their husbands under-foot in the kitchen. Erik Erickson suggests that no doubt there exists among men an honest sense of wishing to save, at whatever cost, a sexual polarity, a vital tension and an essential difference which they fear may be lost in too much sameness, equality, and equivalence, or at any rate too much self-conscious talk.

Some research in the past has shown that national sentiment had turned against minority aspirations. The polls disclosed strong negative feelings about minority goals, little change in stereotyped attitudes and a growing willingness of society to publicly downgrade the abilities of minorities. If "law and order" were the code words of the 1960's, the sexism of the 1970's is constructed on words like "merit", "quotas", and "qualifications."

Opposition to full equality for women is an American Tradition. Our folklore is filled with terrifying images of women not able to control their own property, keep their own earnings, or make contracts. However, unlike the old days, the present day proponents of inequality are often urbane, sophisticated, and highly educated. Among them are the so-called "neo-conservative" intellectuals who provide the scholarly under-pinning for the new mood of conservatism against the so called women's movement.

Many women hold respected positions in both the public and private sectors of our society. They have pioneered the movement of breaking into the "Old Boy Network." Most of our society accepts the reality of at least some sex discrimination, but many see the sex problems as stemming essentially from the weaker sex syndrome. The stereotype of the emotional and irrational woman still persists in the minds of many individuals. At the same time, the feeling of many people is that women have "moved too fast" in their struggle for equality.

In any event, the resurgence of anti-minority attitudes must be taken in the context of the country's economic and political problems. The economic crunch is compounded by the demands of minorities (including women) and groups that have always served as a ballast in the economy—carried along in times of plenty, discarded at the first sign of crisis.

In contrast is the media image of minorities: successful entry into the mainstream, visibility on the television screen far beyond actual presence or influence, but just enough to make the majority (whites) feel threatened by what they imagine to be a flood of minority competitors for opportunities that continue to recede over the economic horizon.

Quite often, women find themselves fighting a paper tiger because their demands for equality are viewed as a danger to the high standards of society. The implication is that the white male domination of American institutions is the result of a merit system that has simply rewarded the most able. We all know this to be untrue.

In a recent publication of the National Council of Administrative Women in Education, Patricia Ann Schmuck documents historical facts to support recent assertions that not only has the male always dominated the administration of public schools, but also that his domination is increasing. Drawing on her own research on women in administrative and teaching positions in the state of Oregon, Schmuck confirms the trend toward a smaller percentage of women administrators and women teachers than in past years. The more fundamental issue, she believes, is, Why have women always been underrepresented in the management of a field they dominate?

Her own research places the blame on both men and women—women for at least five reasons: (1) women have less advanced training than men, (2) women have less perseverance than men, (3) women do not apply for administrative positions, (4) women require more support and encouragement to become administrators, and (5) women do not trust their own abilities to adequately perform leadership roles. For their part, men perpetuate sex differentiation in educational administration through their own beliefs, manifested in discrimination in the training, recruitment, and selection of administrators. The "Old Boy Network" also has a strategy for dealing with sexism and racism, which is to deny their existence and accept no responsibility for inequality.

Considering what has been said, it might be well to consider the signs of improvement. For a bit of history, the National Manpower Council's study in 1957 revealed something of how far we have come, and how far we have yet to go. We note that it was in September, 1957,

that a New York City newspaper reporter asked four people at random: "What would happen if all working wives gave up their jobs tomorrow?" A secretary said children would get more attention, resulting in less delinquency; in any event, husbands earned enough to support their families. A singer, also female, said that the effect would be to give better jobs to working girls who really needed them, since "the majority of married women who go into business do so to earn money for luxuries like mink stoles——." A man from Brooklyn throught that in time it would mean higher wages for men. A male post office employee said it would result in a better home life for husband, wife, and family.

Frances Lear, founder and president of Woman's Place, Inc., says that times have changed, and so have hiring practices, prodded along by fair employment practices legislation. Some corporations today have sophisticated programs for recruiting qualified women into their ranks. Big business has learned that women have more to contribute than mere typing and filing. With an eye on the weather vane, nonspecialist executive search firms have also begun placing women. Thus, the past decade has seen considerable change as women broke the barriers of the "Old Boy Network".

As briefly mentioned, and unfortunately, what inroads have been made against sex discrimination have been publicized by the media in an overblown and misleading fashion, with the result that many women have a gross misconception about what kinds of jobs they can and cannot get. The media have led women to believe that if they are intelligent and educated, the key to corporate executives suites is theirs for the asking. However, for both men and women, research reveals that in an average career, a first-level management job is 10 years beyond college or graduate school entry-level positions. Not even a master's degree in business administration guarantees a management position post in the future. Both men and women with more than one academic degree often end up in staff jobs rather than among company "promotables."

Women and members of minority groups cannot hope to attain management-level positions without specific, specialized credentials and experience in a given field. Unfortunately most jobs are out of reach for most people, even with specific credentials, unless they have nepotism on their side, sexual or racial equity in their favor, or some personal connection to a member of that great men's club in the sky, whose constituency exchanges hiring favors ("The Old Boy Network").

Management positions are only on occasion the reward for outstanding on-the-job performance. Some women do not know this. The

surfeit of books, articles and conferences bearing such titles as "Women and Management" or "Women and Power" helps obscure the bleakness of the situation. There are careers to be had by qualified women, but not all are necessarily in corporate offices, or even behind desks. The primary challenge for working women in the next decade may be re-education, formal or otherwise.

As economic pressure and the need for personal gratification coax more and more women out of volunteerism and the home into the job marketplace, they will have to overcome, in addition to society's false impression of inadequate credentials, the obstacle of spiraling age discrimination, and the fantasy that many women believe the doors to management are wide open. These career seekers will need lucrative jobs, many of which are nontraditional for women. In short, anything that men have done and women have not done but can do, is now a possibility.

There are many oft-quoted reasons why some workers of both sexes prefer male supervisors. They stem from myth as well as the double standard. Women have traditionally been considered too catty, too petty, unable to make rational decisions, too emotional, offensively agressive, and non-goal oriented. Certainly, some women are guilty of some of the above, while at the same time we all know men who hold some of the same traits. To say that women bosses will always exhibit at least one of these tendencies is nonsense. Society tends to look at identical traits in men and women differently: When males fly off the handle at frustrations, the blame is placed on the peculiarly demanding nature of their work; when a woman reacts in the same manner, she is at fault because women are not equipped to handle responsibility. When a man is aggressive, he is ambitious and enterprising; when a woman is aggressive, she is considered abrasive and trying to be a man. When a man pays attention to minor details, he is thorough, but when a woman does the same, she is nagging. This point hardly needs further elaboration.

In addition to the multiplicity of problems thus stated as faced by women in or seeking top-level jobs, Michele Burgen, in a recent article in *Ebony Magazine* entitled "The Problems of Women Bosses," interviewed ten women holding top-level positions. Burgen found that these women unanimously found a common plan that governs their work: They expect to receive inferior treatment and less enthusiastic response from male co-workers (and sometimes from females), yet at the same time know that their management must reflect superior per-

formance. Burgen further found that these women felt that they had to

(1) Be better, work harder, and be better in "form" than male bosses
(2) Make fewer mistakes and make greater accomplishments to be deemed successful
(3) Work for lesser pay sometimes while males performing identical jobs received more pay
(4) "Prove themselves" sometimes by working first on a "trial basis"
(5) Be subjected to verbal, sexual, and racial attacks, irresponsible treatment, and the like
(6) Have their decisions and judgement questioned, accepted as second best, or accepted after being supported by their male counterparts
(7) Deal with lack of trust from staff and outsiders as well
(8) Face opinions and beliefs that their jobs are results of affirmative action policies, and not because they are qualified to do the job
(9) Contend with the "let me do it for you" attitude from male colleagues

It is plain to see that despite recent advances, women in top-level positions still experience subtle and open opposition. The struggle against sexism and the "Old Boy Game" is and will continue to be intense and difficult. Women have moved beyond the point where they accept suggestions of being inferior or less competent. The next decade will see a female-male and male-female confrontation to determine one's own future. The glaring disadvantage of women and minorities, to a large extent, is the lack of institutions to aid in the battle of equality. Those who roll back the trend must be made to understand that women will not accept a lowering of horizons at their expense. They will continue to break into the "Old Boy Network" on the basis of their abilities, qualifications, and legal rights. If women are to break into the "Old Boy Network" there are some processes they should understand before committing themselves to the system, the most important of which is the decision-making process. The decision-making process differs in some networks, for example:

a. Some decisions are made by a single person
b. Some decisions are based on the ability of a majority to overrule a minority
c. Some decisions are based on support and acquiescence of the total network after debate and discussion, often referred to as a consensus

While it is difficult to see these decision-making patterns in their pure form, certain patterns are discernible in the "Old Boy Network." You should try to identify with a network whose decision-making process is comparable with yours.

Also, in order to help make the "Old Boy System" work for them, women will have to be willing to set limits on competing among themselves for unrealistic reasons. For example, instead of falling into the trap of competing to be "chosen," with all of its no longer questioned social and psychological overtones, women might recognize that job opportunities for competent women exist, and that the support, help, and advice of other women can be extremely important in getting to them.

Breaking into the "Old Boy Network" for everyone raises the questions of trust, sharing and dependency not only from inside the "Old Boy Network" but from peers outside the "Old Boy Network" as well. This is especially true for women and minorities. As outsiders to the system, women have often tried to ensure their own survival by creating job situations in which they could be wholly and solely dependent on themselves.

The outcomes of this strategy conflict directly with most requirements for top-level positions. At this level the job *is* coordination and leadership of other people, and this requires the ability to trust in, depend on and delegate to others, in particular, one's peers and subordinates.

Finding a style that will work effectively, that doesn't come across as too hard, tough, and aggressive, or not tough enough, over- emotional, too hesitant, not enough of an initiator is the "Catch 22" for women involved in the "Old Boy Network" break down. It is a challenge.

Margaret Hennig and Anne Jardim, in their book, *The Managerial Woman,* cite several stereotyped obstacles society has created about women seeking or holding top level positions. Some of them include the following:

(1) Women often feel in conflict and confused about their own work goals.
(2) Women become extremely anxious when they have to deal with the unknown.
(3) Women find criticism extremely difficult to deal with.
(4) Women are reluctant to take risks.
(5) The only way women can deal with their feelings of guilt (if they exist) over having a career is to try to be a perfect woman/wife/mother, simultaneously.

(6) Under pressure, women will break down and cry.

While problems inevitably arise for all executives, whether male or female, it does not necessarily follow that all women seeking or holding top level jobs will be forced to face obstacles based merely on the fact of their womanhood. Some women deny altogether the existence of any problems in their leadership roles. But for many others, perhaps a handful of individuals can make the female boss' job more demanding and more frustrating than it need be. When all people begin to look to their colleagues on the basis of ability rather than on the basis of gender, it will be a victory not only for women, but for everyone battling that "Old Boy Network Game."

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SUGGESTED READINGS

Burgen, Michele, "The Problems of Women Bosses," *Ebony*, (November, 1977, pp. 94-106).

Fordyce, Jack K. and Raymond Weil, *Management With People* (Reading, Massachusetts, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1971).

Frank, Harold H., *Women in the Organization* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977).

Hennig, Margaret and Anne Jardim, "The Managerial Woman," *Book Digest* (December, 1977), pp. 154-174

Lear, Frances, "Top Level Jobs Still Elude Women," *Roanoke Times and World News* (October 21, 1977), p. A15.

Maccia, Elizabeth Steiner, Martha Ann Coleman, Myrna Estep, and Trudy Miller Shiel, *Women in Education* (Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas Publishers, 1975).

Manis, Laura G., *Woman Power* (Cranston, Rhode Island, The Carroll Press Publishers, 1977).